DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 360 923 HE 026 661

AUTHOR Smith, Kris M.
TITLE The Impact of College on White Students' Racial Attitudes. AIR 1993 Annual Forum Paper.
PUB DATE May 93
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Annual Forum of the Association for Institutional Research (33rd, Chicago, IL, May 16-19, 1993).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Affirmative Action; *Attitude Change; Attitude Measures; College Freshmen; College Outcomes Assessment; *College Students; Cultural Pluralism; Educational Environment; Higher Education; Institutional Research; Models; Peer Relationship; *Racial Attitudes; *Racial Bias; Sex Differences; *Student Attitudes; White Students
IDENTIFIERS *AIR Forum

ABSTRACT

The current resurgence of racism on America's college campuses suggests that institutions may need to take a more conscious look at how they might be influencing students' racial attitudes. This paper examines: (1) the individual student characteristics and beliefs that influence white students' racial attitudes at college entry; (2) the impact of the various institutional environments on white students' attitudes; and (3) the ways in which this information can be used by an institution to promote multiculturalism and improve interracial understanding within the campus community. A model was developed to examine institutional impact on student racial attitudes. Results of a study at the University of Michigan which considered on aspect of racial attitudes, students' attitudes toward affirmative action practices and policies within a college or university are analyzed. The data for this paper were drawn from a research study conducted by the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education and the Office of Minority Affairs at the University of Michigan involving 485 white students who responded to two surveys. The outcomes of the path analyses indicated that students enter college with ambivalent feelings toward affirmative action and that colleges and universities have the potential to tip the balance either for or against such practices. Within this study, males became less supportive of affirmative action during their first year of college, while females became more supportive of these policies. Findings suggest the vital role that institutional researchers play in providing empirical data on student attitudes to guide institutional decisions. (Contains 24 references.) (GLR)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 360 923

THE IMPACT OF COLLEGE ON WHITE STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDES

Kris M. Smith

Institutional Assessment Coordinator
Assessment and Testing Office
Administration Building 315, Box 2201
South Dakota State University
Brookings, SD 57007
(605) 688-4217

Running head: COLLEGE IMPACT ON WHITE STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDES

HE 026 661

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

AIR

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

for Management Research, Policy Analysis, and Planning

This paper was presented at the Thirty-Third Annual Forum of the Association for Institutional Research held at the Chicago Marriott Downtown, Chicago, Illinois, May 16-19, 1993. This paper was reviewed by the AIR Forum Publications Committee and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC Collection of Forum Papers.

Jean Endo
Chair and Editor
Forum Publications
Editorial Advisory Committee

Abstract

The current resurgence of racism on America's college campuses suggests that institutions may need to take a more conscious look at how they might be influencing students' racial attitudes. A model is presented to examine the institutional impact on student attitudes. Results of a single institution study which considered one aspect of racial attitudes, students' attitudes toward affirmative action practices and polices within a college or university is discussed. The outcomes of the path analyses indicate that students enter college with ambivalent feelings toward affirmative action and that colleges and universities have the potential to tip the balance either for or against such practices. Within this study, males become less supportive of affirmative action during their first year of college, while females became more supportive of these policies. The article emphasizing the vital role that institutional researchers play in providing empirical data on student attitudes to guide institutional decisions.

THE IMPACT OF COLLEGE ON WHITE STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDES

Introduction

With the current resurgence of racism on America's college campuses, predominantly white institutions are realizing that racial integration involves more than increasing the number of students of color on campus. The negative effects of campus racism on minority students are well documented (Allen, 1988; Richardson, 1989; Smith, 1989), but little attention has been given to the effects of this racism on white students. How a campus responds to racism and its students of color cannot help but influence its white students' attitudes toward their minority peers and, as a result, influence the educational environment for all students.

A historical study considering the impact of minority student enrollments on predominantly white institutions found that "little attention was being paid to the interpersonal aspects of race on these campuses, and organizational arrangements and social segregation reinforced the situation" (Peterson, Blackburn, Gamson, Arce, Davenport, & Mingle, 1978, p. 319). After more than a decade the situation remains relatively unchanged.

So, why after several years of experience with campus racial integration are so many predominantly white colleges falling short of their goals to effectively integrate their campuses? Many of these institutions, while well-intentioned, have overlooked the importance of planning for campus integration. And, while many considered the needs of their students of color, most lacked a clear understanding of how institutional integration efforts were influencing their white students' racial attitudes and the learning environment for all students.

Planning based on empirical evidence gleaned through institutional research is critical if institutions are to successfully integrate their campuses. This planning must go beyond strategies to increase minority enrollments and programs for the students of color; it must encompass the entire educational community. As suggested by Smith (1993), the likelihood of effective campus integration is enhanced when colleges and universities: (1) demonstrate top administrative leadership and commitment, (2) define diversity for their campus, (3) develop a research agenda, (4) include diversity goals and research findings in all planning efforts,

(5) review institutional environments for points of impact, and (6) provide educational opportunities for the entire institution.

Institutional researchers play a vital role in helping their institutions address the issue of campus diversity by providing the empirical evidence necessary to identify the points of institutional impact and the nature of this impact. The research presented in this paper suggests that while institutions may believe they are influencing students' attitudes in a particular way, the actual impact may be very different.

Therefore, in an effort to provide insight into the role that institutions play in shaping white students' racial attitudes, this paper examines: (1) the individual student characteristics and beliefs that influence white students' racial attitudes at college entry, (2) the impact of the various institutional environments on white students' attitudes, and (3) the ways in which this information can be used by an institution to promote multiculturalism and improve interracial understanding within the campus community.

Literature Review

A review of the research on white Americans' racial attitudes reveals that the college educated have consistently held more accepting attitudes toward people of color than do less educated whites (Campbell, 1971; Hyman & Wright, 1979; Schuman, Steeh, & Bobo, 1985). These summaries covering forty years of research document that white Americans' support for general principles of integration have steadily and monotonically increased, with the college-educated consistently indicating significantly more support for such principles.

These findings do not suggest that college educated whites are accepting of racial diversity but rather that attitudes are a matter of degree. Furthermore, studies have found that white college students possess negative stereotypes of black students and often are uncomfortable interacting with students from other racial backgrounds (Peterson et al., 1978; Sedlacek, 1987).

Recent research on white Americans' racial attitudes suggests that the differences in support for general principles of racial equity across educational levels diminish when considering attitudes about specific policies and programs designed to address these principles, such as affirmative action (Schuman, et al, 1985; Bobo, 1988; McConahay, 1986; Kinder & Sears, 1981). "The decline in college educated white adults' support

for specific anti-racism policies more closely approximates (and at times drops below) the non college educated white samples' support for such policies" (Smith, 1992, p. 34).

Cognitive based theories of racism suggest that most Americans have ambivalent feelings toward other racial groups (McConahay, 1986) and that as knowledge about these groups increases, stereotyping and prejudiced behavior is reduced (Triandis, 1988). The broader cognitive based theories of moral development identify college students as being at a critical point in the developmental process (Kohlberg, 1981, Gilligan, 1982) and reinforce the concept that increased cognitive complexity will lead to increased differentiation among individuals from other racial groups. Similarly, a tenet of Attribution Theory (Fletcher, Danilovics, Fernandez, Peterson, & Reeder 1986) supports the premise that individuals who exhibit greater attributional complexity are more likely to support social remedies to inequity such as affirmative action. Under this theory, complexity increases as the number of dimensions (both individual and environmental attributions) used in the evaluation of a situation or individual increases.

Much of the research on college impact has shown positive educational effects on students' values and attitudes (Hyman & Wright, 1979; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Yet, over the years, it has become more difficult to isolate the net effects of college due to the nature of the continuous influence of other environments on students while they are enrolled. Although Steeh and Schuman (1991) found positive net college effects on white Americans' racial attitudes after controlling for historical and cohort effects, they did not discount the socializing influences of the greater society.

When considering the effects of college, the institution should not be viewed as a single discrete entity, because within the institution several sub-environments have the potential to impact students' attitudes. These sub-environments include: (1) the institutional culture, (2) the climate, (3) the academic environment, (4) the student environment, and (5) the administrative and organizational environment (Peterson, Cameron, Mets, Jones, & Ettington, 1988). The values and attitudes being projected or encouraged within these sub-environments may be in conflict with a university's rhetoric pertaining to a multicultural agenda. So while recent research (Astin, 1993) suggests that the student environment produces the strongest effects on student development, each of the many environments must be considered to determine the points of impact and the direction of such impact.

Conceptual Model

Two theoretical premises serve to inform the model used to guide this study. First, cognitive development theory suggests that although development is stage related and progressive, individuals do not develop consistently across content areas (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). That is, although individuals may possess, as a condition of their developmental stage, the propensity to deal with a particular context (schema) at a high level of cognitive complexity, without exposure to and increased knowledge about the particular context, greater cognitive complexity will not occur within this schema.

The second theoretical premise, derives from cognitive based theories of racism, particularly Categorization Theory. This premise states that people structure their knowledge about other racial and ethnic groups categorically in schemata. While this process effectively organizes information, it also leads to stereotyping. But these theories go on to suggest that as positive contact with other racial groups increases, the complexity of the individuals' cognitive schema increases, and as a result, stereotyping and prejudiced behavior will decrease, while differentiation among individuals within the out-group will increase.

These two theoretical premises, cognitive complexity and categorization theory, combine to provide a social-psychological view of attitude development. From this perspective, one can begin to see the complexities involved in attitude formation and change and the important role of socialization in this process. Of particular interest here is identifying the socializing influence of the higher education institution.

The conceptual model translates into a research design (Figure 1) for the study of white students' attitude development, in particular, students' support for affirmative action practices within an institution of higher education. First, the model considers students' attitude development prior to college entry by looking at

---

Insert Figure 1 above here

---

both background characteristics and entering students' beliefs. Once the nature of attitude development has been investigated, then the potential influence of various institutional environments on these attitudes is

considered. The model provides for the investigation of both direct and indirect effects, and by adding interaction terms, moderating and mediating effects.

The wealth of literature which has emerged around gender differences in both moral and cognitive development (i.e. Gilligan, 1982; Baxter Magolda, 1992), dictates that a causal model must necessarily include gender. It was hypothesized that women within the study would be more empathic and exhibit greater levels of attributional complexity and as a result be more receptive to institutional efforts to enhance students' multicultural awareness and ultimately their support for affirmative action practices.

Considering the quantity of evidence which has shown college to have a positive effect on white American's racial attitudes, it would follow that these more positive attitudes of college graduates would be inculcated in their children. Therefore, the level of parents' education is included in the model to control for variability in students' attitudes as a result of their socialization and to identify the magnitude of this influence. Academic achievement is included in the design to serve as a control measure and to make a distinction between this construct and the attributional complexity construct.

Five measures of entering student beliefs were included in the model to determine the degree to which these individual characteristics contributed to their attitudes toward affirmative action practices. Measures of students' political views and their level of religiosity were included in the research design because research has consistently shown that as political ideology moves more to the right and/or religious beliefs become more dogmatic, support for general principles as well as specific policies related to racial equity declines (Schuman et al., 1985). Similarly, attributional complexity, the way individuals view the causes for behavior, and empathy, an individual's ability to see an issue from another person's perspective, were expected to positively influence students' support for affirmative action because those who exhibit these beliefs will be more likely to consider both systemic and individual causes for peoples' situations.

As indicated earlier, as the cognitive schemata about different races becomes more complex, individuals will begin to see the similarities across races and make differentiations among people based on individual characteristics rather than group traits or stereotypes. Therefore, a measure of perceived group difference was included in the model to determine if this differentiation does lead to greater support for affirmative action.

Institutional context variables within the model measure the institutional climate as well as the student, academic, and administrative and organizational environments. Hurtado's (1990) multi-institutional study demonstrates that the students' perceptions of the campus racial climate is negatively correlated to their racial attitudes. That is, students who perceive the racial climate as negative are more likely to have more positive attitudes toward their classmates of color.

The student environment--their interactions with peers, their living environment, and their social network--plays an important role in students' attitude development (Astin, 1993). Following the premises of contact theory, as student interactions with people of color increase so too will their understanding of these other racial groups. At the same time, the academic environment includes their interaction with faculty, their classroom experiences, and the discipline in which they major. Each has been shown to influence, or at least reinforce, students' values and attitudes (Hyman & Wright, 1979).

Finally, since most policies and practices related to affirmative action originate within the administrative and organizational environment, the attitudes and values projected by this environment will influence student attitudes as well. If the administration supports affirmative action practices, it is likely that student support for these practices will be enhanced.

Method

Sample

The data for this paper were drawn from a research study conducted by the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education and the Office of Minority Affairs at the University of Michigan. All first-time, full-time students who entered the University in the Fall of 1990 and who were living in the residence halls were asked to complete the baseline questionnaire. Sixty-one percent of the white students in this sample completed and returned the questionnaire (n=2091). Of these students, a random sample was selected to receive the second questionnaire which asked about their first year experiences (white respondents n=624, 67%). The sample for this study is comprised of those white students who responded to both surveys (n=485).

Data Collection

The first questionnaire was distributed to students when they moved into their residence hall. Both door-to-door and telephone follow-ups were conducted to increase the response rate. The second questionnaire was distributed by mail toward the end of the second semester, after students were notified by phone that the survey would be coming and to elicit their participation. Phone follow-ups were also conducted for this administration. In addition to the self-reported data collected through the surveys, institutional data were provided by the University's Registrar's Office.

Analysis

Path analysis using least square multiple regression was used to determine the mediating effects of background characteristics on students' entering beliefs, how these entering beliefs influence the white students' racial attitudes, and how the institutional contexts impact these students' racial attitudes (Table 1). Interaction

---

Insert Table 1 above here

---

terms were introduced into the regressions to isolate any moderating effects which might be present. Because interactions were found by gender, separate path models for males and females were developed. Indices within the study were constructed using principle component factor analysis with varimax rotation. Due to limitations in sample size, neither residence nor academic major could be analyzed as part of the predictive path models. Therefore, the effects of these two measures were analyzed using multiple regressions independent of the path analyses.

Racial attitudes, the dependent measure, was operationalized using specific policy questions related to affirmative action practices within a university setting. These items asked students the degree to which they believed that: (1) colleges do not have a "primary responsibility" to correct racial injustice, (2) differential admissions standards are justified for some students of color, (3) students of color are given advantages that discriminate against other students, (4) priority should be given to see that students of color receive financial aid

for education, (5) hiring of faculty of color should be a top university priority, and (6) affirmative action for people of color has helped to reduce academic standards. The response codes were reversed for negatively worded items. It was assumed that students' levels of support for specific racial affirmative action practices within a university setting would be positively correlated to their support for the more general principles of diversity and racial integration. In addition, while not eliminated, the chance for socially acceptable responses is reduced using specific policy questions.

The affirmative action index was constructed twice: (1) a baseline measure at college entry and (2) an end-of-the-year measure, the dependent variable. The Alpha reliability of the index increased considerably from time one (Alpha=.69) to time two (Alpha=.81) suggesting that students' attitudes toward affirmative action became more solidified and that they became more aware of the inter-relatedness of the various issues associated with equalizing opportunity for students of color through affirmative action practices.

Results

For the most part, male and female students in the sample entered the institution with similar ambivalent feelings toward affirmative action practices within higher education. But, after their first year of college, the female students were more supportive of these practices than they were at college entry, while the males were less supportive than when they entered. The difference in institutional effect, not only in degree but direction, suggests that what students experience within the various institutional environments does have an effect on their attitudes.

To identify the points of impact, both preliminary stepwise regressions and path analyses were performed. Results of the stepwise regressions which looked at the effects of residence and academic discipline (Table 2) on students' attitudes toward affirmative action practices resulted in nonsignificant findings once students' entering racial attitudes were controlled. These results indicate that while differences in attitudes

---

Insert Table 2 above here

---

may exist among residence halls and across academic disciplines, these differences appear to be more the result of selectivity based on pre-existing individual characteristics than the result of an environmental impact. This finding supports the person-environment fit literature upon which many college impact studies are based.

The two path analyses indicate that male and female students' attitudes about affirmative action practices are formed in somewhat different ways, and that these attitudes are influenced by different factors within the institutional environments (Figures 2 & 3). When considering the background characteristics and

Insert Figure 2 above here

Insert Figure 3 above here

entering beliefs which influence students' racial attitudes, the findings show that, for this sample of students, their mother's education level and the students' political ideology had significant direct and indirect effects on students' entering attitudes toward affirmative action. Consistent with the hypotheses, as mother's education level increased and students' political views became more liberal, their support for affirmative action practices increased. The total effects for both these measures were stronger for women than men (Table 3). In addition to mother's education and students' political ideologies, the entering attitudes of males were also influenced by their perception of racial group differences, with those perceiving more group similarity being more supportive of affirmative action. Females on the other hand, while not influenced by their perception of group difference, exhibited a positive relationship between their level of attributional complexity and their racial attitudes at college entry.

Insert Table 3 above here

More importantly the institutional efforts to enhance students' awareness of and acceptance for multiculturalism and racial and cultural diversity affect male and female students in different ways. Women in the study appeared to respond positively to classroom activities which encouraged the discussion of racial and cultural issues, while males were more influenced by interpersonal relationships, such as whether they had a friend of color among their immediate network of friends. Racial attitudes were also influenced by students' perceptions of the institution's emphasis on diversity. Supporting Hurtado's (1990) findings, those students who viewed institutional efforts to increase students' multicultural awareness as having impacted interracial group conflict on campus were more supportive of affirmative action, as were those who believed that institutional efforts increased students' awareness of the complexity of interracial relations.

Although females within the study were significantly influenced by fewer institutional measures, the impact of these measures indicate that structured institutional efforts to enhance student awareness of multiculturalism had a positive influence on their attitudes toward affirmative action practices. The males within the study, although influenced by more institutional measures, were less likely to have their attitudes impacted by structured institutional efforts and more likely to be influenced by informal, person-to-person interactions. Male attitudes became more negative as the freshman year progressed and these attitudes appear to be more influenced by their personal interracial experiences on campus. This finding supports a premise of Contact Theory which states that interaction must be positive in order for the stereotypes to be broken. If a male student had a friend of color within his immediate social network of friends, he was much more likely to support affirmative action.

The gender differences observed within these findings may be the result of the increased likelihood that males within the study more than females adhere to a value of individualism which supports the belief that with hard work anyone can succeed. Women, possibly as a result of their own experiences as a minority, may be more aware of systemic causes for people's positions or behaviors, thereby taking a more egalitarian approach to affirmative action.

Conclusions and Implications

A college or university campus presents a setting where affirmative action principles are frequently used to increase campus diversity and enhance the educational opportunities for students of color. At the same

time, many institutions of higher education aspire to create within their students a value for multiculturalism and a respect for diversity. But if, as research documents and campus racial incidents illustrate, many white Americans' exhibit limited support for specific affirmative action principles, institutions must be aware of how these policies and practices impact the climate and learning experiences for all students, not just the students of color. The way in which an institution implements these policies may either create or alleviate problems.

The findings in this study indicate the importance of institutional research in order to understand students' racial attitudes and the ways in which an institution can influence these attitudes. More importantly, colleges need to realize that students are at a critical point in their development, and because students, at least within this sample, enter college with ambivalent feelings about racial issues, institutions have the potential to tip the balance in either direction depending on the influence of various institutional environments.

Some opponents of affirmative action may question the operationalizing of racial attitudes with a measure of attitudes toward affirmative action policies and practices. While theoretically debatable, it is not the focus of this paper. Affirmative action is a pragmatic reality. Therefore, institutions must recognize the importance of assessing the level of support for such practices within their constituencies. Armed with this information, institutions can develop strategies to prevent negative attitudes from adversely affecting the learning environment while at the same time protecting freedom of speech.

Most of the resistance to affirmative action and, more generally campus diversity, is not openly addressed through university channels but is more often expressed through hostility directed toward those whom the practices are designed to serve, the students and faculty of color. Without an accurate assessment of attitudes of all students and faculty, an institution may not be aware of the impact of its affirmative action practices and policies. Even if an institution has not made diversity an institutional goal, such research may illustrate how people of color or other minorities are subtly discriminated against within the institution.

The importance of a baseline measure of students' background characteristics and entering beliefs and attitudes cannot be overemphasized, for without this information, the institution will find it impossible to determine institutional impact. Furthermore, although this research project was limited to studying student attitudes, institutions may wish to assess faculty attitudes as well. Although not presented here, this University of Michigan study also included a qualitative component. Data gleaned from individual student interviews and

focus groups added richness to the quantitative findings and confirmed the research assumption that the questionnaires were not, for the most part, eliciting "politically correct" responses. Whenever possible, a quantitative component should be included when developing an institutional research design.

As with any study, institutional researchers must be sensitive to the need to disaggregate data in ways that are meaningful for the institution. To illustrate, when the initial path analysis of the entire sample was performed, the results indicated that the institution had no impact on students' attitudes toward affirmative action practices. But when interaction terms were introduced, the findings indicated that males and females were responding to the institution differently and as a result, attitudes were influenced in different ways. The findings support the notion that gender as well as other measures within the model served to moderate as well as mediate students' attitudes. Without disaggregation much of the richness of the data may be obscured leading to erroneous interpretations.

Each institution undertakjng such an investigation of attitudes must consider the questions and, subsequently the interpretation of the results, in light of their own institutional culture and student population. For example, this research paper focused on student attitudes toward affirmative action, yet the study from which these data were drawn addressed a variety of other issues related to diversity. The questionnaires were developed through a collaborative effort among a variety of university offices and organizations to insure that a wide range of interests was represented. The University of Michigan has made a conscious decision to increase racial diversity on its campuses and, as a result, the research question addressed in this paper was appropriate for the institution.

Institutional researchers can do a great deal to aid institutional decision makers as they address the issues of campus diversity and multiculturalism, by assessing campus racial attitudes and the impact of institutional efforts on these attitudes. Undertaking research which provides empirical evidence for planning, policy development, and curriculum enhancement is vital to an institution if it is to make informed decisions. With the current state of racial tension on many college campuses, institutional researchers should identify existing conditions so that decision makers can adequately plan strategies to address these issues.

References

Allen, W. R. (1988). Improving black student access and achievement in higher education. The Review of Higher Education, 11(4), 403-416.

Allport, G. W. (1954). The nature of prejudice. Boston: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc.

Astin, A. W. (1993). What matters in college. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Baxter Magolda, M. B. (1992), Knowing and reasoning in college: Gender-related patterns in students' intellectual development. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Bobo, L. (1988). Group conflict, prejudice, and the paradox of contemporary racial attitudes. In P. A. Katz and D. A. Taylor (Eds.), Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy. (pp. 85-114). New York: Plenum Press.

Campbell, A. (1971). White attitudes toward black people. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan.

Fletcher, G. J. O., Danilovics, P., Fernandez, G., Peterson, D., & Reeder, G. D. (1986). Attributional complexity: An individual differences measure. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51,(4), 875-884.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hurtado, S. (1990). Campus racial climates and educational outcomes. Dissertation, Los Angeles: University of California.

Hyman, H. H. & Wright, C. R. (1979). Education's lasting influence on values. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Kinder, D. R. & Sears, D. O. (1981). Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racial threats to the good life. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 40(3), 414-431.

Kohlberg, L. (1981). The philosophy of moral development: Moral stages and the idea of justice. Essays on Moral Development (Vol. 1). San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers.

McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), Prejudice,discrimination, and racism (pp. 91-125). New York: Academic Press, Inc.

Pascarella, E. T. & Terenzini, P. T. (1991). How college affects students: Findings and insights from twenty years of research. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc. Publishers.

Peterson, M., Blackburn, R. Gamson, Z. F., Arce, C., Davenport, R. & Mingle, J (1978). Black students on white campuses: The impact of increased enrollments. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research.

Peterson, M. Cameron, K., Mets, L., Jones, P. & Ettington, D. (1986). The organizational context for teaching and learning: A review of the research literature. Ann Arbor: National Center for Research to Improve Post-Secondary Teaching and Learning, The University of Michigan.

Richardson, R. C. (1989). Institutional climate and majority achievement. Denver: Education Commission of the States.

Schuman, H., Steeh, C. & Bobo, L. (1985). Racial attitudes in America: Trends and interpretations. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sedlacek, W. E. (1987). Black students on white campuses: Twenty years of research. Journal of College Student Personnel, 28(6), 484-495.

Smith, D. G. (1989). The challenge of diversity: Involvement or alienation in the academy? ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 5. Washington, D. C.: School of Education and Human Development, The George Washington University.

Smith, K. M. (1993). Enhance quality through multiculturalism and campus diversity. Paper prepared for the graduate student paper competition and presentation at the annual conference of the Society for College and University Planning, Boston, MA.

Smith, K. M. (1992). Gender Differences and the impact of college on white students' racial attitudes. Dissertation. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.

Steeh, C. & Schuman, H. (1991). Changes in racial attitudes among young white adults, 1984-1990. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Triandis, H. C. (1988). The future of pluralism revisited. In P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (Eds.), Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy. (pp. 31-50). New York: Plenum Press.

Table 1. Independent Measures Included in the Research Design*

Individual Characteristics	Students' Entering Beliefs	Institutional Contexts
*Sex	*Political Ideology	*Racial Climate
0=male; 1= female	1=extremely liberal;	1=negative climate
49% female	4= middle of the road,	5=positive climate
*Parent's Education	haven't thought about it	mean=2.93, SD=.48, alpha=.74
1=1 to 8 yrs; 7=doctorate	7=extremely conservative	Student Environment
mother mean=4.62, SD=1.13	mean=3.99, SD=1.44	*Social Network
*Academic Achievement	*Perception of group difference	0=no friends of color
SAT scores	1=much more similar	1=1 or more friends of color
mean=1188.9, SD=132.6	4=much more different	59% 1 or more friends of color
	mean=2.44, SD=.65, alpha=.87	Academic Environment
	*Empathy	*Class Experiences
	1=low empathy	1=none at all
	5=high empathy	5=a great deal
	mean=3.54, SD=.79, alpha=.70	mean=2.94, SD=1.20
	*Attributional Complexity	Adm. & Org. Envir.
	1=low complexity	*Commitment to own race
	5=high complexity	mean=.70, SD=.46
	mean=3.34, SD=.76, alpha=.77	*Awareness of other race
	*Religiosity	*Awareness of the complexity
	1=very religious	inter-group relations
	4=not at all religious	mean= =.79, SD=.41
	mean=2.88, SD=.80	1=Univ. has influenced
	Students' Entering	0=no Univ. influence
	Racial Attitudes	*Conflict
	1=against affirm. action	1=univ. increased conflict
	5=for affirmative action	5=didn't increase conflict
	mean=2.22, SD=.48, alpha=.69	mean=2.91, SD=.89, alpha=.64

*A copy of the survey questions may be obtained from the author.

Table 2. Multiple Regression Analyses to Determine the Effects of Students Residence and Academic Major on their Attitudes Toward Affirmative Action

	Affirm. Action Total	Affirm. Action Male	Affirm. Action Female
Residence Hall			
South Quad	.01	.03	.06
Mosher Jordon	-.04	.02	-.01
West Quad	.00	-.00	-.06
Couzens	-.04	-.05	-.01
Lloyd	-.03	.08	-.03
East Quad	.06	.04	.07
Markley	.02	.04	.08
Bursley	-.00	.00	.08
Affirm. Action 1	.63**	.59**	.67**
F-Statistic	34.96**	15.82**	22.01**
R-Squared	.42	.36	.50
Academic Major			
Professional	-.07	-.10	-.00
Humanities	-.08	-.12	-.04
Social Sciences	-.05	-.10	.02
Nat. & Phys. Sci.	-.07	-.03	-.09
Residential College	-.06	-.12	.00
Affirm. Action 1	.64**	.60**	.96**
F-Statistic	51.51**	21.32**	32.18**
R-Squared	.42	.37	.49

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 3. Summary Table of Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects on Students' Attitudes Toward Affirmative Action Practices

	DIRECT EFFECTS	INDIRECT EFFECTS	TOTAL EFFECTS
MALES			
Mom_Ed (1)	-.06	.16[a]	.10
SAT (2)	-.01	-.00[a]	-.01
Entering Beliefs			
GrpDif1 (3)	-.13*	-.10[a]	-.23
Polview1 (4)	-.03	-.21[a]	-.24
Empathy (5)	.03	.03[a]	.06
Complex (6)	.03	.03	.06
Entering Attitudes			
AAction1 (7)	.48***	.05[a]	.53
Institutional Measures			
RClimate (8)	-.15**	--	-.15
SocGrp (9)	.11*	--	.11
OwnRace (10)	.11*	--	.11
GrpRel (11)	.12*	--	.12
Conflict (12)	.31***	--	.31
ClassExp (13)	-.04		-.04
FEMALES			
Mom_Ed (1)	-.00	.18[a]	.18
SAT (2)	-.03	.06[a]	.03
Entering Beliefs			
GrpDif1 (3)	-.01	-.03	-.04
Polview1 (4)	-.13**	-.20[a]	-.33
Empathy (5)	-.01	-.05[a]	-.06
Complexity (6)	.05	.13[a]	.18
Entering Attitudes			
AAction1 (7)	.50**	.13[a]	.63
Institutional Measures			
RClimate (8)	-.08	--	-.08
SocGrp (9)	.03	--	.03
OwnRace (10)	.02	--	.02
GrpRel (11)	.12*	--	.12
Conflict (12)	.19*	--	.19
ClassExp (13)	.16*	--	.16

[a] at least one non-significant path is present in the equation; '--' an endogenous variable for which no indirect effects exist within the model, *p<.05, **p<.01.

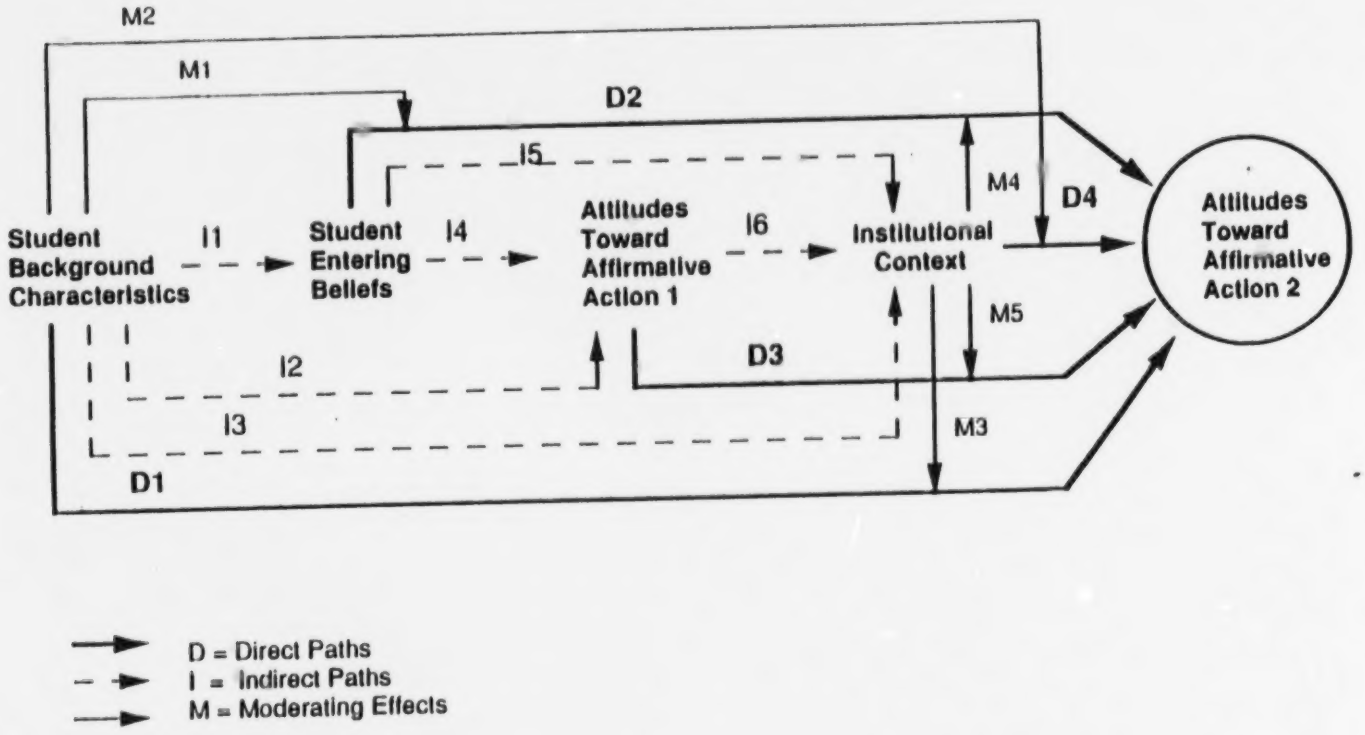
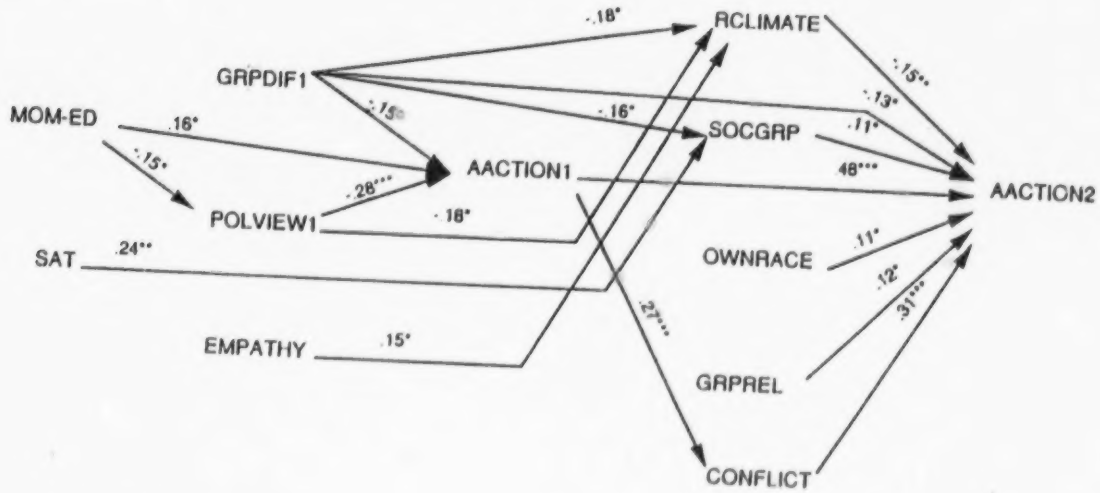
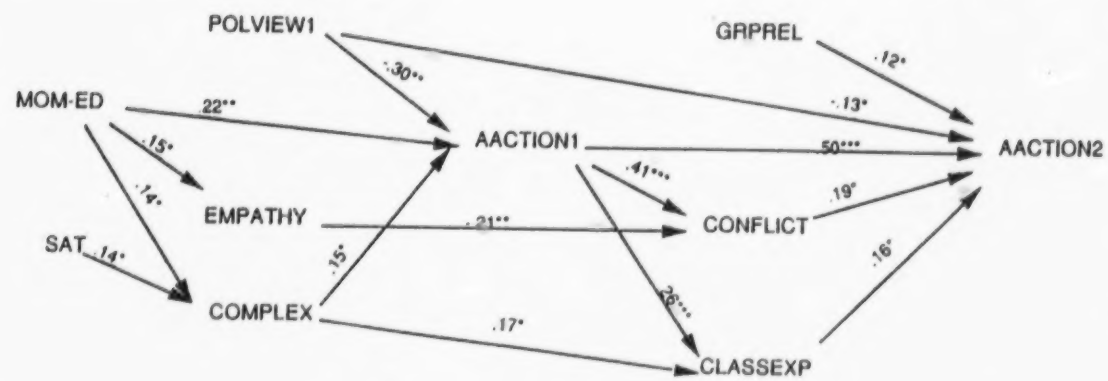


Figure 1. Research Design Model



*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Figure 2. Path Analysis Beta Coefficients for Male Respondents



*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Figure 3. Path Analysis Beta Coefficients for Female Respondents